

Socialist Appeal

Vol. II - No. 18. Saturday, April 30, 1938. Published every week by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N. at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

Meet the Nazi Thugs!

Nazi thuggery has made its appearance in New York. A group of American Legionnaires who went to a Yorkville Nazi meeting were black-jacked and belted by uniformed Nazi gangsters.

Their attempt to make Weiss kiss a swastika flag they brought with them brought right to our own doorsteps a repetition of the methods of barbarous cruelty and humiliation which the Fascists have used and are using in Germany and Austria to grind their opponents, militant workers, unionists, and hapless Jews, into submission.

This is not merely an importation of German Nazi methods in this country. Every worker who has ever been on a strike is familiar with the black-jack methods of gangsters employed by the bosses as scabs and "deputies" to terrorize strikers.

The most ardent exponents of anti-working class thuggery within the working class itself today are the Stalinists who are trying everything to introduce the barbarous methods of the G.P.U. into the labor movement.

In our columns during the last few weeks we have carried numerous reports from all over the country of attacks by Stalinist hoodlums and strong-arm men on members of our party and of attempts to drive our comrades and others out of public meetings by main force.

All of this is grist to the mill of Fascism and the working class will pay for it dearly unless we organize resolutely and forcefully against it. There is only one way to meet the Nazis, the thugs, and their Stalinist imitators. They have got to be made to understand that their gangster violence will not be received passively; they will be answered by

vigorous, organized resistance. They will attack workers only at their own great peril.

Working class meetings, anti-Fascist organizations and newspapers must be protected against such attacks—not by fruitless appeals to the boss police who come in nothing loath to beat up attackers and attacked alike or who more often than not condone the attack—but by the strength of the workers themselves.

Kerensky and Stalin

Lackeys always run ahead of their masters. Thus about two weeks ago the Stalinist Daily Worker sought to improve on the "case" submitted by Prosecutor Vyshinsky against the Old Bolsheviks murdered by Stalin in the cellars of the G.P.U.

This organ of truth and enlightenment blazoned on its front page an alleged admission made in the course of a lecture by Mr. Alexander Kerensky, head of the Russian government which the Bolsheviks overthrew in 1917, that he and his conferees, as early as 1927, had been approached by emissaries of Kamenev, Zinoviev and Bukharin with an offer to cooperate with them in anti-Soviet activity.

Like 99.9 per cent of all Stalinist statements concerning their political opponents, the "factual" element in this story was manufactured out of whole cloth. Had Kerensky made the statements attributed to him by the Daily Worker, they certainly would have made the front page of every newspaper.

In a letter to the New York Times last Sunday, Kerensky characterized this piece of mendacity as a fabrication "from beginning to end.... The falsification of my utterances should help public opinion perceive how 'evidence' is manufactured by Communists for the purposes of the G.P.U. in the staging of demonstration trials."

Very true, indeed. But Kerensky's indignation, to put it mildly, is somewhat hypocritical. It was Kerensky himself who in 1917 put into circulation the lie that Lenin and Trotsky were agents of the German General Staff in order to confound the Russian workers and frustrate their revolutionary activity under the leadership of the Bolsheviks.

Kerensky has not yet retracted and apologized for his shameful lying. Until he does, it will not be possible to regard his indignation at the Stalinist falsifiers as anything more than the envy of a picayune frame-up artist who has been ousted from power.

T.U. Unity Needed In Coming Class Battles

By ARNE SWABECK

During the two years of conflict between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. enormous changes were wrought throughout the trade union field. The C.I.O. made phenomenal progress in organization, labor militancy rose to new and hitherto unsurpassed heights, the A. F. of L. made some gains; but the efforts—feeble efforts—made to end the conflict and to reach a basis for unification of the two organizations proved unavailing.

Many genuine militants may take this whole question quite philosophically knowing that present-day economic and political developments have already set powerful forces in motion which will work their way toward unification. But time may soon become very pressing.

Conflict Overshadowed

During the recent period rapid organization developed so much momentum that the conflict of necessity receded into the background. At any rate it had little possibility of interfering with the progress made. Now, however, these conditions have been altered in a fundamental sense.

While the conflict between the two rival movements could not come so much to a head when new mass unions grew up almost overnight in the most important basic industries, and while it was necessary for the C.I.O. to forge ahead independently and unhampered by any demands for capitulation—unity at that time could have been accomplished only by capitulation—it stands to reason that this question appears in an entirely different light now that the class enemy is preparing to assume the offensive all along the line.

When the whole of the trade union movement becomes compelled to engage in bitter defensive struggles against attacks on the wage standard, and against attacks on its very life, a continuation, or a further intensification of the conflict may have fatal consequences.

Independence a Fact

It is true that the C.I.O. decision represents a change only in the formal sense. In reality it has already for some time functioned as an independent and more or less permanent organization. The self-appointed Committee for Industrial Organization laid down general policy for its affiliated unions; it decided on strategy in strikes and in political life and took measures of organization as an independent federation would do.

Yet, with all the power, authority and arbitrariness of the leading committee, nowhere has rank-and-file initiative found such a mighty outlet as in the new industrial unions. For a long time this has been a matter of serious concern to the leadership. Once these new unions were established it frowned upon the sitdown strike—or, to be more correct, it frowned upon the idea of the workers taking possession of the plants and thus violating capitalist property rights.

The dance, which netted \$35 for the strikers, was a continuation of previous work in support of the food workers. Earlier the same day the union held a tag day in Lynn, which brought in over \$100. Members of the S.W.P., together with a group of Simmons College girls, acted as collectors.

retic attempt to solve correctly the many new serious problems now arising.

Those "Too Old"

To begin with, one may mention the very simple question of industry's "old men." Recently this has received more than usual public attention because of the increasing difficulty of workers holding on to their jobs when past the age of forty. Since this condition prevails more in mass production industry than in the sheltered trades, it becomes most pressing for the C.I.O.

Unemployment is of course a far greater and a far more acute question. According to the almost unanimous estimates of all reliable statistical authorities the unemployment figure had already in February risen above 13,000,000. This cancels out not less than 54 per cent of the decrease in unemployment which occurred from March 1933 to last September.

An over-supply of labor power in the market, and factory gates closing, weakens all union morale. A large army of unemployed is a threat to all unions. And, above all, the needs of the unemployed cannot be met by pious resolutions which have even less effect where employers can take advantage of disunity. Nothing less than united

action of the whole trade union movement will suffice.

Bosses On Offensive

It is conditions such as these that facilitate the preparations being made by the class enemy to launch a mighty attack to beat down wages. With profits tobogganing to still lower levels, capitalism knows no other way than to seek compensation from the workers' pay envelope. Even a boom in the war industries could only complicate and make union resistance more difficult without united action.

All of these problems, and many more that could be mentioned, almost fade into insignificance when considering the question of the approaching world war. Never does the ruling class need a submissive working class so much as during war times. In this the trade union movement becomes a key issue. By its greatly added numerical and organizational strength it is a much more potent factor than it was in 1917.

The rulers of America will be sure to spare no efforts, on the one hand to compel working class loyalty to the employers, and on the other hand to curb, if not to crush, its independence, for this is what war means in the first instance. But the workers who have much to lose and nothing to gain from a capitalist war need their forces united to fight against it. Their trade union movement, built up through many bitter struggles, is itself a product of capitalist contradictions and an expression of existing and growing class antagonism. Only on the field of the class struggle can these contradictions and antagonisms be solved. Objectively the unification of the trade union movement should be a beginning toward this final end and militants can do a good turn by pressing for a solution of this first problem now.

LaFollette Prepares Third Party Attempt For 1940

By FRANCES MERRILL

Governor Philip LaFollette of Wisconsin climaxed a series of four radio addresses last week attacking the Republican and Democratic parties, including Roosevelt's New Deal, with a call for a conference of "liberals" to meet in Madison April 28 to discuss the possibility of a national third party.

Since the LaFollettes have generally been considered New Dealers, and their Progressive party supported Roosevelt in the last presidential election, Governor LaFollette's radio lashing of the Administration for its failure to solve questions of unemployment and relief occasioned considerable surprise. It was not surprising, however, to anyone familiar with the Wisconsin Progressive party and the aims of its leaders, Robert and Philip LaFollette, although the motive for a blast at this particular time was not clear until the announcement of the conference.

Third Party Aspirations

Ever since the LaFollettes abandoned their role as leaders of the left-wing faction of the Wisconsin Republican party inherited from their father, in order to found the Progressive party, their aspiration has been a national third party similar to the one in Wisconsin and independent of the two old parties.

The "liberal" Representative J. J. O'Connell, of Montana, has suggested that the conference in Madison might endorse Roosevelt for a third term, nominating him to head a third party. If the conference should do this, it would doubtless be contrary to the LaFollette's wishes. Governor LaFollette's attacks last week on Roosevelt's failure to work out a sound recovery program and solve "the fundamental underlying problems that caused the depression," taken in conjunction with Bob's address before the Keep America Out of War Committee in Chicago, April 24, in which he assailed the Roosevelt armament program, scarcely look as if the LaFollettes were laying the groundwork for an endorsement of Roosevelt.

What They Want

What the LaFollettes want and what comes out of the conference may well be two different things. The LaFollettes and Wisconsin Progressives alone cannot constitute a national third party. But what they want is obvious enough from the program and history of the Wisconsin party.

First of all, they do not want a party that will tail-end either of the two old parties—be merely a left-wing faction for the Democratic party or a participant in some sort of "Democratic Front." They were willing enough to tail-end the Democratic party in the 1936 election, in return for Democratic support of the Progressives in Wisconsin, but at that time they saw no prospect of a national third party of the kind they desired. The Farmer-Labor-Progressive Federation in Wisconsin played

a People's Front role in that election, largely under the domination of the Progressives.

But the LaFollettes, while using the Federation, have been careful not to tie themselves too closely to it. It is not their child, as is the Progressive party, although they made the most of it to keep the Socialists and other miscellaneous liberals and labor groups behind the Progressive machine. It is significant, however, that even after the LaFollette got the Federation to remove a "production for use" clause from its platform, and although the Federation's constitution forbade support of any candidate not a member of the Federation, the LaFollette did not join. The Federation was forced to give Philip LaFollette in his campaign for re-election as governor, the left-handed support of not nominating a candidate to run against him.

Not a Labor Party

It is clear also that the LaFollette third party would not be a labor party in the classic sense, or even a farmer-labor party, although it would seek of course to get labor's support. Its basis would be the farmers, small businessmen, and the "liberals," the middle class in short. It would be the sort of party advocated by Bingham and the Common Sense group with a less Utopian program, for the LaFollette are practical politicians. The Cooperative Commonwealth would be relegated to the distant, very distant future. This is evident from the governor's radio speeches, in which, according to the New York Times, "he advocated, without detailing specifications, a program of collective action which would create lasting employment in the creation of national wealth while at the same time leaving private incentives undisturbed."

And how could it be otherwise, since the appeal would have to be made to the Middle Western farmer, who is not a sharecropper or agricultural laborer, but an independent proprietor, and to the small businessman, who may be the enemy of banks, monopoly corporations and Wall St., but not at all of private property and the profit system? Such a party would lend itself, as the Wisconsin Progressive party has, to the sort of attacks on monopoly and the financial oligarchy that also serve fascist movements. A striking evidence of this was found during the last depression when the LaFollette's party organ, the Progressive, had kind words for Huey Long and the Townsend movement.

Could Not Represent Labor

A LaFollette party, with its appeal to the "little man" and "liberals," would not fail to have its lure for labor and all the exploited. But such a party, having no real class basis, since the middle class has no independent economic basis of its own, would be incapable of representing the class interests of labor. It might be more consistent in its "liberalism," less corrupt, and less subject to the direct pressure of big business and the leaders of industry than the two old parties, but in the end it would have to represent the interests of the bosses, albeit the little bosses, and not of labor.

SWP Summons Workers For N.Y. May Day Rally

(Continued from page 1)

urday April 30. They have announced that Saturday and not Sunday was selected in order that "church and peace groups" might participate.

Fraudulent United Front

The "United May Day Committee" organized by the Stalinists is dominated by C.P. functionaries, such as Louis Weinstein, hiding behind their trade union labels.

The Saturday demonstration will not be a real united front, but a Stalinist-controlled demonstration in support of Roosevelt's war plans. Obviously the Socialist Workers Party, American section of the Fourth International could not participate in such a demonstration.

Offers Made

The Party approached the Socialist Party and the Independent Communist Labor League with proposals for a united front of all working class organizations which were opposed to participating in the Stalinist patriotic demonstration.

Ultimatum Issued

As no agreement could be reached it was decided to come together the next day. Later in the day Barshop called the S.W.P. and stated that the Socialist Party would not participate in a May Day demonstration with the Socialist Workers Party unless the S.W.P. agreed to keep silent on the Fourth International and provided the youth section did not appear as the Y.P.S.L., 4th International.

At the next day's conference the S.W.P. took the position that to agree to the demands of the Socialist Party would mean giving up our political identity and the organizational identity of the youth organization. This is not required by any correct united front considerations. We made no such demands on any of the other organizations.

Objections Raised

Right at the beginning of the conference and before there was any discussion of the main ques-

tion the representative of the youth organization of the S.P. stated that his organization had objections to the Y. P. S. L. (Fourth International) being in the demonstration. This position was supported by Barshop and Russell who represented the Socialist Party. Russell said that the S.P. did not want the demonstration to have a "Trotskyist color," and objected to being mixed up with the Fourth International with which the S.P. was not in agreement.

The S.W.P. representatives took the position that this was a false conception of the meaning of the united front, that we certainly had no objection to the youth organization of the S.P. carrying banners with the legend "Y. P. S. L. Second International."

Make May Day Labor's Day!

(Continued from page 1)

of the people the serf of a handful of "democratic" capitalist politicians, but the United Workers' Front of struggle against capitalist reaction!

Only the militant, United Workers' Front can beat off Fascism. It alone can inspire the masses in China, in Spain, tomorrow in France, and in the United States, to a victorious reply to capitalism. It alone can inspire the masses of the Soviet Union to resist the treacherous work of the Stalin gang, which is undermining the great conquests of the 1917 revolution and dragging the country back to capitalist exploitation.

Let us determine on May Day to reinforce our efforts to break the working class from the leadership of the bourgeoisie and its agents!

LABOR IS INVINCIBLE

The power, the strength, the resourcefulness and initiative of the masses are immeasurable! Let them but use their own power and no ruling class can hold out against their onslaught!

Then rally around the banner of the working class struggle, of proletarian independence, of revolutionary internationalism! It is the banner of the Fourth International, of the Socialist Workers Party, of the triumph of labor's struggle for emancipation! Let us make May Day a real day of labor!

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

Monthly Marxist Magazine

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

Lynn SWP Supports Sharaf Strikers

BOSTON—Combining forces to aid the C. I. O. Foodworkers Union, Local 701, which is conducting a militant strike against Sharaf's Restaurant in Lynn, Mass., the Boston and Lynn branches of the Socialist Workers Party held a benefit dance at the Boston headquarters last Saturday.

A feature of the affair was a short address by one of the striking food workers, Pappy Carney, who expressed the determination of the strikers to maintain their ranks solidly until they win their demands. Carney thanked the S.W.P. for its support of the strike.

Another feature was the presence of several Stalinists, who fraternized with the "Trotskyists" without showing any fear of contamination. It is possible they may be expelled from the Communist party for their attendance—it has happened in Boston before.

The dance, which netted \$35 for the strikers, was a continuation of previous work in support of the food workers. Earlier the same day the union held a tag day in Lynn, which brought in over \$100. Members of the S.W.P., together with a group of Simmons College girls, acted as collectors.

REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS

To the

SOCIALIST APPEAL

from

A Group of Members of Teachers Union, Local 5

New York

Tram Workers Strike In Columbus

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—As the Columbus transportation strike entered its second week negotiations were still being carried on between the Amalgamated Association of Street Car, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Operators, Local 1111, and the Columbus and Southern Ohio Electric Company by federal labor conciliators.

The strike was called April 17 after the company refused the union's demands. The union asked for a closed shop and wage increases of 10 to 13 cents per hour. Later in the strike the union offered to withdraw the closed shop demand, providing the company would recognize a grievance committee. The company refused to accept the compromise.

Picket lines, established at the beginning of the strike, are being supplemented by members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League. As yet no attempts have been made by the company to operate street cars and buses by scabs, and the pickets have successfully kept the cars in the barns.

The resistance of the workers is stiffening as the company continues to refuse to grant the union's demands. A victory for the street car workers would provide an impetus to the organization of labor in this "open shop" city.

New International May Issue Appears

The May issue of the New International magazine will be off the press this week. Continuing its high standard, the May issue features many important and timely articles. Among the features of this issue are:

- (1) "Five Years of the New Deal" by Maurice Spector. (2) "The London Conference" by Joseph Carter. (3) "Why I Quit The Communist Party" by Charles Rapoport. (4) "Czechoslovakia after Anschluss" by George. (5) "Lenin and Luxemburg" by Max Shachtman.

Besides these features, there are significant articles on "The Proletariat and War," "The Crisis and Spending" by David Cowles, a second article by S. Stanley on India, a special article on Brazil, the second portion of the article by Walter Held on the "Course of Herr Brandler," as well as Archive Material and other distinctive features.

The May issue will be on sale at news stands and book shops at 20 cents per copy. Address subscription orders (\$2. per year) to The New International, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO THE SOCIALIST APPEAL